

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 H-02 IO-10 /032 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2941

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 2406

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PFOR HU SHUM RO

SUBJ: HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN ROMANIA

REFS: A. STATE 114919; B. MEMCON, DECEMBER 9, 1974 (NOTAL);  
C. BUCHAREST A-241, OCTOBER 18, 1974; D. BUCHAREST A-160, JUNE  
18, 1974

1. SUMMARY. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT WHILE HUNGARIAN MINORITY  
HAS BEEN AFFECTED BY GENERAL INTERNAL TIGHTENING IN ROMANIA  
OVER PAST YEAR, ITS SITUATION CANNOT BE SAID TO HAVE  
DRAMATICALLY WORSENERED RELATIVE TO NON-HUNGARIANS DURING THIS  
PERIOD. END SUMMARY.

2. EMBASSY BASES THIS JUDGMENT ON TRIP BY EMBASSY OFFICERS  
INTO HUNGARIAN POPULATION CENTERS (NOTABLY TIRGU MURES AND CLUJ),  
CONSULTATION WITH FRG AND UK DCM'S (LATTER MADE FACT FINDING  
TOUR DURING PAST MONTH IN TRAYSYLVANIA WITH HUNGARIAN-  
SPEAKING UK COUNTERPART FROM BUDAPEST), RECENT CONVERSATIONS  
WITH HUNGARIAN DIPLOMATS AND MTI REP HERE, INDIVIDUAL  
MEMBERS OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY, AND A FEW HUNGARIAN-  
SPEAKING VISITORS FROM U.S. WE OFFER IT WITHOUT PURPORTING  
TO CLAIM IT IS MORE THAN EDUCATED GUESS THAT ACTUAL  
SITUATION. WE WOULD WELCOME ANY COMMENTS BY EMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AND RFE'S HUNGARIAN ANALYSTS, IF DEPT DESIRES TO SOLICIT  
THEIR VIEWS.

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3. GOR'S LONG-TERM AIM IS CLEARLY TO NEUTRALIZE THE MAGYAR MINORITY'S POTENTIAL FOR POLITICAL LEVERAGE OR SUBVERSION AND TO DILUTE IT GRADUALLY AS A DISTINCT ENTITY GENERALLY USING MODERNIZATION/INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS RATHER THAN ADMINISTRATIVE COERCION, IN THE INTERESTS OF GREATER UNITY AND HOMOGENEITY OF THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL STATE. THIS ATTENUATED PROCESS TAKES PLACE IN A FRAMEWORK OF ROUGH LEGAL AND CULTURAL EQUALITY, AND ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES DO NOT APPEAR EAGER FOR TROUBLE OVER MAGYAR MINORITY EITHER INTERNALLY OR WITH BUDAPEST. OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT MAGYAR IDENTITY IS STILL VERY STRONG, NOTABLY IN TIRGU MURES AND CLUJ, AND IS RESISTANT TO SUBTLE PRESSURES AGAINST IT.

4. WE ARE GETTING MIXED SIGNALS ON YEARLY MAGYAR EMIGRATION TO HUNGARY; ESTIMATES RANGE FROM "ONLY A FEW HUNDRED" (HUNGARIAN DCM) TO "SEVERAL THOUSAND AND INCREASING (MTI CORRESPONDENT). GOH DOES NOT APPEAR EAGER TO STIMULATE OUTFLOW, AND GOR REPORTEDLY WILL NOT ISSUE EXIT PERMITS UNLESS HUNGARIAN EMBASSY HAS FIRST CLEARED CASE. AS A RULE, ONLY CLOSE RELATIVES ARE CONSIDERED, ALTHOUGH A LARGER NUMBER WOULD PROBABLY LEAVE IF THEY COULD. HOWEVER, HUNGARIAN EMBASSY CONSIDERS EMIGRATION "MINOR QUESTION" AND PUTS EMPHASIS ON SUSTAINING MAGYAR'S CULTURAL IDENTITY.

5. MOTHER-TONGUE EDUCATION HAS BEEN POINT OF ENDLESS DISPUTE. GOR METICULOUSLY KEEPS UP APPEARANCES OF EQUALITY. UK DCM (ABOVE) FOUND 16 PERCENT OF CLUJ UNIVERSITY (AND TOP FIVE STUDENTS THERE) ARE HUNGARIAN (HIGHER THAN NATIONAL POPULATION RATIO) BUT ALSO SOME DISGRUNTLEMENT THAT PERCENTAGE WAS SHORT OF CLUJ CITY RATIO (30 PERCENT). IT WAS DIFFICULT TO TELL FROM OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS OF GOR'S NATIONALITY COUNCILS SESSION (APRIL 1974) WHETHER CEAUSESCU WAS INTENT ON CONSTRICTING MOTHER-TONGUE TECHNICAL SCHOOLING AND PUBLISHING OR WAS REACTING AGAINST MAGYAR AGITATION FOR WIDER CONCESSIONS. ON BALANCE, EVIDENCE FOR ANY MAJOR OR DRAMATIC DETERIORATION OF MAGYAR EDUCATION RECENTLY IS LACKING, ALTHOUGH MANY MAGYARS REMAIN UNHAPPY AND UNRECONCILED TO "SECOND-BEST" STATUS.

6. DURING PAST YEAR, MUCH OF WHAT U.S. HUNGARIAN EMIGRES SEE  
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AS ANTI-MAGYAR MOVES HAS BEEN BUT ONE FACET OF MORE GENERAL GOR TIGHTENING APPLIED TO ALL CITIZENS. FOR EXAMPLE, BAN ON LODGING TOURISTS IN PRIVATE DWELLINGS AFFECTS NOT ONLY MAGYARS BUT ALL VISITORS EN MASSE (SERBS, GERMANS, ITALIANS, PARTICULARLY). REPORTED SUICIDE OF CLUJ ACTOR AFTER VIOLATING LAW DRAMATIZED SITUATION BUT DOES NOT EVINCE DISCRIMINATION. SIMILARLY, ALLEGATIONS THAT 1974 LAWS ON STATE ARCHIVES AND CULTURAL PATRIMONY ARE BEING MANIPULATED ONLY AGAINST MAGYARS

(OR CATHOLICS) SEEM HIGHLY EXAGGERATED, ALTHOUGH CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS, POSSESSING BETTER ARCHIVES, FEEL THEM MORE ACUTELY. NEWSPRINT AND PUBLISHING CUTBACKS IN 1974 WERE, ACCORDING TO MOST SOURCES, EVENLY APPLIED TO BOTH MAGYAR AND NON-MAGYAR PUBLICATIONS, AND WERE RECEIVED POORLY BY ALL CONCERNED, AS WAS NEW GOR LAND LAW. UK OFFICERS NOTED PERHAPS FEWER DUAL ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN SIGNS AND MARKERS IN TRANSYLVANIA THAN THREE YEARS AGO, BUT IN EASTERN TRANSYLVANIA IN MAY THEY APPEARED NUMEROUS AND NORMAL TO US. HUNGARIAN-LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED HERE CONTINUE GENERALLY TO USE HUNGARIAN (NOT ROMANIAN) PLACE NAMES. HUNGARIAN VERSION OF "CLUJ-NAPOCA" IS NOW "KOLOZSVAR-NAPOCA", FOLLOWING RENAMING OF CLUJ TO STRESS ROMAN-DACIAN ANTECEDENTS (WHICH ARE STRESSED ELSEWHERE ALSO IN TRANSYLVANIA). DESPITE CHARGES OF "AMENDING THE PAST", GOR'S PROMOTION OF THE ROMANIAN VIEW OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY WILL CONTINUE.

7. THE TRIAL AND CONVICTION OF MAGYAR WRITER ZOLTAN KALLOS (SEE FINANCIAL TIMES, APRIL 2) WAS NOT CULTURAL OPPRESSION BUT AN ISOLATED CASE OF HOMOSEXUALITY, ACCORDING TO D.R. POPESCU (PROMINENT ROMANIAN WRITER), WHO RECENTLY POINTED OUT PRIVATELY THAT A ROMANIAN COLLEAGUE HAD BEEN ARRESTED FOR SAME OFFENSE "ON NON-DISCRIMINATORY BASIS". (IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO CONVINCE HUNGARIANS, HOWEVER, THAT KALLOS'S BUDAPEST TIES AND FOLKLORE RESEARCH AMONG MAGYARS DID NOT

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HAVE SOMETHING TO DO WITH ARREST.)

8. RAPID INDUSTRIALIZATION HAS BROUGHT MORE MOBILITY AND MIXING OF POPULATION, AND GOR HAS NOT BEEN UNHAPPY THAT BY-PRODUCT HAS BEEN SOME GRADUAL DISPERSION OF HUNGARIAN POPULATION NUCLEI, EVEN THOUGH IT HAS MADE EFFORT TO BRING INDUSTRY TO ALL UNDERDEVELOPED JUDETS. DISPERSION CLEARLY HAS NEVER BEEN ON SUCH A SCALE TO MERIT EPITHET "GENOCIDE". UK EMBOFFS (ABOVE) GAINED SENSE OF MINOR ETHNIC TENSION AND SCUFFLES IN VILLAGES OR FACTORY FLOORS (REFLECTED OBLIQUELY IN CEAUSESCU'S REMARKS AT NATIONALITY COUNCILS LAST YERA) BUT NOT RPT NOT MAJOR MAGYAR LABOR DISTURBANCES (AS ALLEGED, FOR EXAMPLE, IN LONDON TABLOID PRESS IN LATE JUNE 1974). GOR HAS APPARENTLY SOMETIMES CALLED ON CHURCH TO SMOOTH THINGS OVER WHEN PROVINCIAL IRRITATIONS ARISE.

9. WE DEFER TO EMB BUDAPEST ON GOH'S POLICY TOWARD ROMANIAN MAGYARS. WE HAVE HAD IMPRESSION THAT OVER PAST YEAR GOH HAS PAID MORE AGGRESSIVE ATTENTION TO DOING SOMETHING ABOUT PRESERVING ETHNIC AND CULTURAL VIABILITY OF MAGYARS BOTH IN YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA, BUT THAT GOR HAS CONTINUED TO SHIELD OWN MINORITY FROM EXCESSIVE CULTURAL TOGETHERNESS WITH HUNGARIAN NEIGHBORS AS REGARDS BOOKS, EXHIBITS, AND THEATER. GOR IS HYPERSENSITIVE TO ANY HUNGARIAN HINTS THAT TRANSYLVANIA MAY NOT BE LEGITIMATELY ROMANIAN (SEE CEAUSESCU'S ALBA IULIA SPEECH MAY 28).  
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10. ALTHOUGH MANY ROMANIAN MAGYARS ARE UNHAPPY WITH THEIR LOT, SOME MAGYAR INTELLECTUALS WITH WHOM WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CHAT PRIVATELY (BY NO MEANS ALL OF WHOM ARE GOR LACKEYS) SHOW KEEN APPRECIATION OF POLITICAL AMBIGUITIES IN WHICH THEY OPERATE AND, WHILE EAGER FOR GREATER CULTURAL LATITUDE, ARE COOL TOWARD BOTH HUNGARY'S SUPINE PRO-SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND PROSPECT OF MORE SOVIET INFLUENCE IN TRANSYLVANIA. MANY GRIPE ABOUT RELATIVELY MORE BACKWARD ROMANIAN CONDITIONS, BUT AT THE SAME TIME REALIZE (WE BELIEVE) THAT A SOVIET EMBRACE WOULD BE AN EQUALLY UNHAPPY EVENTUALITY.

11. FINALLY, FROM LONGER HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, ROMANIANS FEEL THEIR SHABBY TREATMENT BY MAGYARS IN AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE YEARS BEFORE 1918 OR DURING 1940-44 HUNGARIAN SEIZURE OF TRANSYLVANIA WAS FAR LESS ENLIGHTENED AND LESS MODERATE THAN STATUS MAGYARS NOW ENJOY UNDER ROMANIAN NATION. THEY ARE PROBABLY RIGHT.

12. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND COMMENT IS BEING AIR-POUCHED TO EUR/EE JUNE 2 AS RESULT OF EMBOFF'S RECENT CONVERSATION WITH AMERICAN-HUNGARIAN RESEARCHER IN BUDAPEST I. VOLGYES. EMB BUDAPEST MAY WITH TO CONTACT BOTH

VOLGYES AND UK EMB FOR THEIR IMPRESSIONS OF SITUATION.  
BARNES

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## Message Attributes

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